As a member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, I have witnessed first-hand the importance of people-to-people exchanges. They are instrumental in promoting our country and the democratic ideals that make our country great.

In addition, like many Members of this House, both Republican and Democrat alike, I, too, have been a part of a citizens exchange program. The American council of young political leaders, one of the recipients of USIA funding, was formed nearly 30 years ago as a non-profit bi-partisan educational exchange organization to enhance foreign policy understanding and exposure among rising young American political leaders and their counterparts around the world.

Since its establishment, Mr. Speaker, more than 3,000 political leaders from the United States and 2,000 foreign delegates have participated in some 500 governmental and business exchanges with their counterparts in more than 70 countries. The ACYPL's efforts are a key component of not only our exchange programs but in fostering better relations and understandings between nations. I am only sorry that programs such as ACYPL's may be at risk as a result of these proposed cuts in educational and exchange programs.

## SISTER GRACE IMELDA BLANCHARD

## HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 3, 1995

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep regret that I inform our colleagues of the passing of a truly outstanding and caring individual who dedicated her life to the education of our young people.

Sister Grace Imelda Blanchard was in many ways the epitome of those with whom so many Americans are familiar—the women of the religious community who truly believed that expanding the minds of young men and women was instrumental in carrying out God's intentions.

A native of New Haven, CT, Sister Grace received her bachelor of arts degree from Albertus Magnus College in 1936, a master's in secondary supervision in 1943, and a Ph.D. in education from New York University in 1968. Realizing that only by becoming a religious would she be able to fully devote her life to education, she entered the order of the Dominican Sisters of Newburgh, NY, on September 8, 1957. She subsequently entered the novitiate June 11, 1958; made her first profession June 17, 1959, and her final profession August 21, 1962.

Sister Grace's career as an educator encompassed a number of high schools, but it was at Mount Saint Mary College in Newburgh that she truly made her mark, beloved by her students, by her peers, by the administration, and by the community at large. She was an associate professor from 1968 to 1977 and a professor of education from 1978 to 1983. The administrators at Mount Saint Mary asked Sister Grace to take charge of the college's efforts to receive grant funding. They could not have made a better choice, for Sister Grace soon became a regular visitor to my congressional offices and other offices throughout

Washington and Albany, where her perseverance and expertise in obtaining funding for the students became legendary.

Sister Grace was universally respected because she never hid the fact that she considered the education of the students to be her prime responsibility. We all admired the professional manner in which she knew how to obtain funding in an ever more competitive environment.

Sister Grace Imelda's accomplishments were not confined to her college. Her work on the literacy program for adults at the local high school, at the soup kitchen at St. Patrick's Church in Newburgh, and as a catechetical teacher in Montgomery, NY, made her known and loved in all of those communities.

In 1986, Sister Grace was presented with the Mount Saint Mary Faculty Award. The text of that award states:

We are in her debt, not only for her stewardship over grants and goals, but also because she makes us better individuals. It is possible to calculate the dollars she has obtained for the college in writing Title III Grants, but impossible to measure her more priceless contribution of self.

Sister Grace Imelda was traveling to the founding chapter of the Dominican Sisters of Hope in Massachusetts when she was taken ill. We lost her while the chapter was in session and she was buried with a rite of committal on July 24. However, on next Monday, August 7, will mark a memorial mass in her honor at the college chapel, where her many friends and admirers will gather to bid farewell to a remarkable woman.

I happened to speak to Sister Grace just a few days prior to her passing. As was her practice, she had called to remind me that education must remain one of Congress' top priorities, and to underscore the need for continued quality in higher education. As always, Sister Grace was seeking future funding to assist in the laudable goals of her college.

Mr. Speaker, I extend my condolences to her sister-in-law, to her niece, to her four nephews, and to her many grandnieces and grandnephews. Their grief may be tempered with the knowledge that it is shared by many, and by the realization that Sister Grace Imelda Blanchard was a rare individual who will long be remembered.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA SELF-DEFENSE ACT OF 1995

SPEECH OF

## HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 1, 1995

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 21) to terminate the United States arms embargo applicable to the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina:

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, this week the Congress spoke its mind on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and we did so clearly and forcefully, just as the Senate did last week. By an overwhelming majority, we supported the right of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina to defend themselves

The Congress, however, is not the only voice expressing outrage over the toleration of

aggression and genocide. On Monday, 27 nongovernmental organizations released a joint statement on Bosnia. It is a powerful statement which I request be inserted into the RECORD, and which I commend to my colleagues. Let me quote from it:

Bosnia is not a faraway land of no concern to our "national interest." At stake is the global commitment to fundamental human values—the right not to be killed because of one's religion or ethnic heritage, and the right of civilians not to be targeted by combatants. The time has come for multilateral military action to end the massacre of innocent civilians in Bosnia. Nothing else has worked. Force must be used to stop genocide, not simply to retreat from it. American leadership, in particular, is required.

These words, Mr. Speaker, come from a variety of American organizations. They include religious organizations, those dedicated to humanitarian causes, including the care of refugees; and groups dedicated to the rule of law. These are not organizations which one would assume support military options; the fact that they do says something about the gravity of what is happening in Bosnia. Moreover, some are Arab-American organizations, and some are Jewish-American organizations. The list represents a broad spectrum.

Another statement on Bosnia has also been released recently—the letter of resignation by the U.N.'s rapporteur on human rights in the former Yugoslavia, former Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Mr. Mazowiecki is known as a thoughtful and principled man; his dedication to human rights is evident as much in his resignation as it was in his acceptance of this position 3 years ago. I would like to submit that statement for the RECORD as well, Mr. Speaker, and let me quote a few lines from it:

One cannot speak about the protection of human rights with credibility when one is confronted with the lack of consistency and courage displayed by the international community and its leaders. The reality of the human rights situation today is illustrated by the tragedy of the people of Srebrenica and Zepa. . . Crimes have been committed with swiftness and brutality and by contrast the response of the international community has been slow and ineffectual. . . I would like to believe that the present moment will be a turning point in the relationship between Europe and the world toward Bosnia. The very stability of international order and the principle of civilization is at stake over the question of Bosnia. I am not convinced that the turning point hoped for will happen and cannot continue to participate in the pretense of the protection of human rights.

These words, Mr. Speaker, reflect the frustration of many of us who see the conflict in Bosnia for what it is, and know what needs to be done to stop it. This is not a civil war based on ancient hatreds. This is not simply about Bosnia. This conflict is about aggression and genocide, and we must beware the masage which the international community is sending should give to those around the world willing to use force to achieve their political ends.

In responding to crises and conflicts, we must remain objective, and attempt to see things as they really are, without bias. That means we must abandon an artificial neutrality. We must instead identify aggressor and stand with the victim of aggression. Just as these 27 nongovernmental organizations and Mr. Mazowiecki have taken that step, so must

this Congress and this country, Mr. Speaker. We must take a stand. It's a matter of principle, and of lives.

JOINT POLICY STATEMENT ON BOSNIA

The international community's half-measures and evasions have not ended three years of ethnic slaughter in Bosnia. It is time for leadership and action. Bosnia is not a faraway land of no concern to our ''national interest.'' At stake is the global commitment to fundamental human values—the right not to be killed because of one's religious or ethnic heritage, and the right of civilians not to be targeted by combatants.

The U.N. General Assembly, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, the World Conference on Human Rights, and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia have all decried the slaughter in Bosnia as genocide, one of the most heinous crimes known to humanity. The international community has a moral and legal duty to prevent genocide (Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Art. VIII) and to see that its instigators and those responsible for parallel war crimes and crimes against humanity are brought to justice.

The time has come for multilateral military action to end the massacre of innocent civilians in Bosnia. Nothing else has worked. Force must be used to stop genocide, not simply to retreat from it. American leadership, in particular, is required.

We represent 27 different human rights, humanitarian, religious and professional organizations. So far, our organizations have worked individually to end the atrocities in Bosnia. Today, in an effort to end the paralysis, we join together. We urgently call on President Clinton and the leaders of the other major powers to take the following steps:

Protect civilians in all "safe areas." The major powers, through their votes on the Security Council, established the six "safe areas' in Bosnia. Tens of thousands of Bosnians, many of whom had been driven from their homes elsewhere in the country, entrusted their lives to the international forces. Instead, in Srebrenica and Zepa, they have been abandoned. The major powers' recent vow to retaliate forcefully against Bosnian Serb forces if they advance on Gorazde is not enough. It should be extended to all remaining "safe areas"-Bihac, Sarajevo and Tuzla, as well as Gorazde-and triggered not only if troops advance on those havens but also if their civilians are shelled. Any military action by intervening troops should comply strictly with international humanitarian law.

Insist on immediate access to all detainees from Srebrenica and Zepa. Thousands of men who had taken refuge in Srebrenica and Zepa have now been detained by Bosnian Serb forces or face imminent detention. Reports of brutality in Srebrenica demonstrate that these detainees face an all-too-real threat of murder. To prevent further massive loss of life, the major powers should insist that international humanitarian organizations are given immediate access to all detainees and demand that their safety and well-being are ensured.

Ensure the delivery of humanitarian supplies to civilians in the "safe areas." The major powers must ensure the delivery of humanitarian supplies to the "safe areas," if necessary by employing military force in response to the obstruction of those supplies. For instance, the major powers should secure the passage of supplies to Sarajevo over the Mt. Igman road and ensure the delivery of supplies by airdrop to enclaves that are not accessible by land. Deployment of the rapid reaction force on Mt. Igman has begun, but

we remain concerned by the major powers' continuing unwillingness to insist on the right to deliver humanitarian supplies in the absence of Bosnian Serb assent.

Stigmatize those who direct, assist and supply abusive troops. The major powers should publicly name the senior political and military leaders who are presiding over atrocities. Details of their crimes should be made public and provided to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. The major powers, and particularly the U.S. government, should also disclose all available information, including intelligence, that implicates Serbia in supplying, assisting or directing Bosnian Serb troops. The major powers should also strengthen the regime for monitoring external support to Bosnian Serb forces.

Do not lift, suspend or weaken sanctions against Belgrade until it cooperates fully with the investigation and extradition of suspected and indicted war criminals. The creation of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia is an historic opportunity to demonstrate that genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity cannot be committed with impunity-a message that was reaffirmed with last week's indictment of Bosnian Serb political and military leaders Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic. The Tribunal promises justice for victims, deterrence against further abuse, and a basis for eventual peace and reconciliation by substituting individualized guilt for the assumptions of collective ethnic guilt that now fuel the conflict. In recognition of the need for the Serbian government's active support to secure the presence of defendants for trial, the U.S. government had insisted throughout much of 1994 that sanctions against Belgrade would not be eased until it cooperated in the investigation and extradition of suspected and indicted war criminals. But to date, Belgrade has blocked Tribunal investigators and done nothing to secure custody of Bosnian Serbs under indictment. We are deeply disturbed that the major powers are nonetheless now offering Belgrade an opportunity to suspend sanctions in return for political concessions that have nothing to do with the Tribunal. That offer should be withdrawn, and Belgrade's active cooperation with the Tribunal should be made a prerequisite for any new suspension, lifting or easing of the sanctions.

Signed by: The American Jewish Committee; The American Jewish Congress; American Nurses Association; Anti-Defamation League; Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee; B'nai B'rith; Center for Civil and Human Rights; Center for Constitutional Rights; Equality Now; Human Rights Watch; Institute for War and Peace Reporting; International League for Human Rights; International Human Rights Law Group; International Human Rights Law Institute, DePaul University, College of Law; Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights; Lowenstein International Human Rights Clinic, Yale Law School; Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights; National Association of Arab Americans; National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council; Physicians for Human Rights; Refugees International: Saferworld: Travelers and Immigrants Aid of Chicago; Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Women's Refugee Project (Harvard Law School); World Vision (Andrew Natsios, Executive Director and Bob Seiple, President); U.S. Committee for Refugees.

UNITED NATIONS OFFICE AT GENEVA,
CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS,
CH 1211 Geneve 10,July 27, 1995.
His Excellency TAN SRI DATO MUSA HITAM,
Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights,
Xuala Lumpur.

August 3, 1995

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Events in recent weeks in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and above all the fact that the United Nations has allowed Srebrenica and Zepa to fall along with the horrendous tragedy which has beset the population of those "safe havens" guaranteed by international agreements, oblige me to state that I do not see any possibility of continuing the mandate or special rapporteur entrusted to me by the commission on human rights.

On accepting the mandate which was given to me for the first time in August 1992, I declared unequivocally that my goal would not simply be writing reports but helping the people themselves. The creation of "safe havens" was from the very beginning a central recommendation in my reports. The recent decisions of the London conference which accepted the fall of Srebrenica and resigned itself to the fate of Zepa are unacceptable to me. Those decisions did not create the conditions necessary for the defense of all "safe havens".

These events constitute a turning point in the development of the situation in Bosnia. At one and the same time, we are dealing with the struggle of a state, a member of the United Nations, for its survival and multiethnic character, and with the endeavour to protect principles of international order. One cannot speak about the protection of human rights with credibility when one is confronted with the lack of consistency and courage displayed by the international community and its leaders, the reality of the human rights situation today is illustrated by the tragedy of the people of Srebrenica and Zepa.

Human rights violations continue blatantly. There are constant blockades of the delivery of humanitarian aid. The civilian population is shelled remorsely and the "blue helmets" and representatives of humanitarian organizations are dying. Crimes have been committed with swiftness and brutality and by contrast the response of the international community has been slow and ineffectual.

The character of my mandate only allows me to further describe crimes and violations of human rights. But the present critical moment forces us to realize the true character of those crimes and the responsibility of Europe and the international community for their own helplessness in addressing them. We have been fighting in Poland against a totalitarian system with a vision for the Europe of tomorrow. How can we believe in a Europe of tomorrow created by children of people who are abandoned today?

I would like to believe that the present moment will be a turning point in the relationship between Europe and the world towards Bosnia. The very stability of International order and the principle off civilisation is at stake over the question of Bosnia. I am not convinced that the turning point hoped for will happen and cannot continue to participate in the pretense of the protection of human rights.

Mr. Chairman, please understand the motives behind my decision and convey them to the members of the Commission on Human Rights. I will submit my final eighteenth report based on my recent mission to Tuzla to the commission in the near future.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Tadeus. Mazowiecki.

Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.